Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISM.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

SOCIALISM AND THE NEGRO.

Chiefly through the efforts of Dr. Dubois, author of "*The Souls of Black Folk*," there came into being in the United States, some ten years ago, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. In the main, the organisation strove to combat the wide and insidious influence of Booker-Washington who, making light of the social and political status of his race, had put into practice, for its material benefit, the principle of work advocated by the latter-day Carlyle. A group of wealthy and, socially and politically, influential bourgeois of the North, helped to launch the movement and became its directing spirit.

In it were men and women representative of the old conservative and Quaker aristocracy of New England and Pennsylvania, and the liberal capitalists. It comprised intellectual and commercial Jews, and its finest spirit was Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of the *American Nation* and grandson of the great Abolitionist, who, vilified and denounced by the hide-bound capitalist press, stands out as the solitary and only consistent representative of the American bourgeoisie, counselling peace and moderation between aggressive Capitalism and its government, and Militant Labour and Socialism, and all the forces of passion struggling in America to-day. This group, palpably ignorant of the fact that the Negro question is primarily an economic problem, evidently thought it might be solved by admitting Negroes who have won to wealth and intellectual and other attainments into white society on equal terms, and by protesting and pleading to the political and aristocratic South to remove the notorious laws limiting the political and social status of coloured folk. So far as I am able to judge, it has done good work on the technically legal and educational side. It developed race-consciousness in the Negro and made him restive; but on the political side it has flirted with different parties and its work is quite ineffective.

Further, it has taken a firm stand against segregation, which is a moot and delicate question. While all Negroes are agreed that the social barriers must be removed, there is much difference in regard to education and some institutions like hospitals and churches. The growing numbers of cultured Negro men and women find it extremely difficult to obtain employment that is in keeping with their education under the capitalist system of government. For one instance, had a scholar like Dr. Dubois been white he would certainly have secured a chair at Harvard, Yale or Columbia University, for which he is eminently fitted. Many Negroes have obtained a sound education at great sacrifice, only to be forced, upon completion of their studies, into menial or uncongenial toil. In the black belt of New York City, where there is an estimated population of 100,000 Negroes, the Police Force, hospital, library, and elementary schools—patronised chiefly by coloured people—are entirely manned by white staffs. It would be impossible for such conditions to exist under a soviet system of Government.

Just about the beginning of the late War the Socialists and I.W.W., realising that the Negro population offered a fertile field for propaganda, began working in earnest among them. With the aid of the *Messenger Magazine*, edited by two ardent, young Negro university men, and *The Liberator*, they have done real constructive work that is now bearing fine fruit. The rank-and-file Negroes of America have been very responsive to the new truths. Some of them have been lured away by the siren call of the American Federation of Labour to enter its ranks. For years this reactionary association held out against Negro membership, but recently the capitalist class, alarmed over the growth of revolutionary thought among the blacks, used its creature, Gompers, to put through a resolution admitting Negroes to membership at the last conference. It has, however, had no effect on the lily-white and inconsequential trade unions of the South.

A splendid result of the revolutionary propaganda work among the blacks was the Conference of the National Brotherhood of Workers of America (entirely Negro) which was held at Washington, D.C., in September of last year. Its platform is as revolutionary in principle as that of the I.W.W. Over 100 delegates were in attendance and the majority came from the South. As always, the coloured workers are ready and willing to meet the white workers halfway in order that they might unite in the fight against capitalism; but, owing to the seeds of hatred that have been sown for long years by the master class among both sections, the whites are still reluctant to take the step that would win the South over to Socialism. The black workers hold the key to the situation, but while they and the whites remain divided the reactionary South need not fear. The great task is to get both groups together. Coloured men from the North cannot be sent into the South for propaganda purposes, for they will be lynched. White men from the North will be beaten and, if they don't leave, they will also be lynched. A like fate awaits coloured women. But the South is boastful of its spirit of chivalry. It believes that it is the divinely-appointed guardian of sacred white womanhood, and it professes to disfranchise, outrage and lynch Negro men and women solely for the protection of white women.

It seems then that the only solution to the problem is to get lovely and refined white women volunteers to carry the message of Socialism to both white and black workers. There are many of them in the movement who should be eager to go. During the period of Reconstruction a goodly number went from New England to educate the freed men, and, although they were socially ostracised by the Southerners, they stood to their guns. To-day they are needed more than ever. The call is louder and the cause is greater. Among the blacks they will be safe, respected and honoured. Will they rise to their duty?

Strangely, it is the professional class of Negroes that is chiefly opposed to Socialism, although it is the class that suffers and complains most bitterly. Dr. Dubois has flirted with the Socialist idea from a narrow, opportunist-racial standpoint; but he is in spirit opposed to it. If our Negro professionals are not blindly ignorant they should realise that there will never be any hope—no sound material place in the economic life of the world—for them until the Negro masses are industrially independent. Many coloured doctors, lawyers, journalists, teachers and preachers literally starve and are driven to the wall because the black working class does not earn enough to give them adequate support. Naturally, the white workers will hardly turn from their kind to coloured aspirants to the professions, even though the latter should possess exceptional ability. And even when they are capable they are often up against the prejudice of their own people who have been subtly taught by the white ruling class to despise the talented of their race and sneer at their accomplishments.

During the War, Marcus Garvey, a West Indian Negro, went to New York and

THE ENTENTE AND RUSSIA

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

formed the Universal Negro Improvement Association, and African Communities' League for the redemption of Negro Africa, and the return thither of Negroes in exile. The movement has had an astonishing success. Negroes from all parts of the world, oppressed by the capitalists, despised and denied a fighting chance under the present economic system by white workingmen, have hailed it as the star of hope, the ultimate solution of their history-old troubles. It now numbers over two million active members. The capitalist press which ridiculed it at first now mentions the Association in flattering terms, especially since it successfully floated the Black Star Line Steamship Company. At the beginning the company had much trouble with the local authorities, but it has never been persecuted by the State or Federal Government, for it is non-Socialistic, of course. Although an international Socialist, I am supporting the movement, for I believe that, for subject peoples, at least, Nationalism is the open door to Communism. Furthermore, I will try to bring this great army of awakened workers over to the finer system of Socialism. Some English Communists have remarked to me that they have no real sympathy for the Irish and Indian movement because it is nationalistic. But, to-day, the British Empire is the greatest obstacle to International Socialism, and any of its subjugated parts succeeding in breaking away from it would be helping the cause of World Communism. In these pregnant times no people who are strong enough to throw off an imperial yoke will tamely submit to a system of local capitalism. The breaking up of the British Empire must either begin at home or abroad; the sooner the strong blow is struck the better it will be for all Communists. Hence the English revolutionary workers should not be unduly concerned over the manner in which the attack should begin. Unless, like some British intellectuals, they are enamoured of the idea of a Socialist (?) British Empire! Unless they are willing to be provided with cheap raw materials by the slaves of Asia and Africa for the industries of their overcrowded cities, while the broad, fertile acres of Great Britain are held for hunting and other questionable pleasures.

CLAUDE McKAY.

TRYING THE KAISER.

The Allied war-makers are still trying to grasp a little popularity by pressing on with their plan to try their rival—the Kaiser. But the Kaiser, having lost his throne, has fallen back into the limbo of things that do not matter. Lloyd George, who bears a large share of responsibility, not like the Kaiser for one war, but for two, should realise that some day the boomerang may return against himself.

"BLOODILY."

"Did I not say truly: 'The Hungarian Revolution is a bloodless one, but the Allies will make it a bloody one.' But I never thought it would be so cold bloodily done!"—CLARA GILBERT COLE.

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AGRICULTURAL WORKERS IN ARGENTINA.

In the onward stride of modern capitalism, there are two sections of the working class, which are behind their fellows in organising for their mutual protection. The one is the workers of the deep sea, the other, the toilers of the fields and the prairie. The isolation that divides the workers in both industries is largely responsible for this state of disorganisation. But the need of the hour, the greed and rapacity of their masters—for no other workers are so underpaid and overworked as the workers on the ships and on the land—and the desire for a more attractive life, act as the motive springs for these workers forming unions in their industry.

Edwin Markham's *Man with the Hoe* was a living description of the old school of rural worker. It is a type that is mercifully disappearing from the land of all countries. His back is no longer willing to carry the burden of the world. The old drunken, fighting, harum-scarum sailor cared little and knew less about organisation. He was easy to be robbed, scantily paid, and atrociously fed. But the new school of seamen is of a different type. In the forecastles, and in the engine-room the philosophy of the proletarian has made its beginning, and the Scandinavian on deck and the Latin in the stoke-hole are dreaming dreams of social warfare and conquest. The isolated and the divided are learning the lessons of solidarity and of organisation.

The Australian Workers' Union is the largest pastoral organisation in the world. It is now over 20 years in age, and possesses a membership of nearly 200,000 men and women who are distributed all over the Island Continent. In the United States of the North, the A.W.U. has been organising the migratory worker for the past three years. Its success has been phenomenal, and its staff of voluntary delegates is in every wheat field, fruit orchard, and cattle station. It is the consolidisation of the hitherto neglected force of the country worker.

The desire for organisation has now reached the country workers of the republic of Argentina. This gigantic country produces enough cereals to feed the world. Wheat and barley and maize are sown in the spring by the brown workers of the soil, and in the harvest, Mother Earth and her swarthy children gather and reap the golden spoil. The railway stations are almost hidden by the product of the sun and soil and muscle, rearing their high stacks along the track. And yet, in this sunny land of the South, in this hill-less cornucopia, the sweating reaper knows the gnawing bites of hunger, even while surrounded by the very fruits of his labour. Long before the sun rises on the sea-like horizon, the harvest hand has risen to commence his long day's toil. His clothes are still damp with the salty sweat of the previous day's slavery. Still half asleep, he tends the rattling, noisy machine, felling the slender stalks. He has sixteen or more long hours of slavery, and for the sum of three and a half pesos a day.

Three hours after the dawn has vanished, the work stops for *mate*. *Mate* is presumed to be a meal, and takes the place of breakfast. It consists of a cup of *mate* —herb tea—which is sugared in a very minor degree, and a *galleta*, which is hard, dry, and a stranger to salt. This is the succulent breakfast of the Argentine harvest hand. At 11 a.m. the worker dines off a poverty-stricken soup and a *puchero*. The latter is a national institution, and becomes monotonous after a short while. A harvest's hand *puchero* would create a revolution in an Australian shearing station, and send the cook for dear life down the track, minus his swag. At 12.30 p.m. the slavery begins again and goes right on up to the time you can't see. Famished, hungry, exhausted, the human animals come from the field, and grope in the darkness for their *cena* or supper. This meal is about the same as the mid-day meal, with a little tea in the place of the *mate*.

His hunger half satisfied, he throws himself down on his couch of straw, and with the stars peeping down on him, he sleeps the heavy sleep of exhaustion until the heavy boot of the *capitaz* wakes him for another day in the fields. All night long the mosquitoes exact a heavy toll from his already shattered frame. Whatever is left from their greedy bites is left for the exploitation of another type of mosquito, whose richness and idleness is contrasted with the squalid and sordid slaves of the pampa.

By the time the last cutting is over the men are physical wrecks. What use is it to them that they now have 150 or 200 or even 300 pesos in their pockets? The money evaporates as if it was enchanted. Between drug stores, wine dumps and alleged boarding-houses, it disappears, leaving the man with no option but that of securing another skinner as soon as possible. But this form of social crucifixion is coming to an end. These are not the days of social quiescence. The New Message stalks abroad, and it crops up alongside the threshing machine, and at *mate* time. Here and there among the brown toilers one or more men will be found who know how matters have to be changed, and understand, more or less vaguely, how to do it.

You will see going north at this time of the year, hundreds of men travelling on the freight trains. They are from the big cities, many of them from the port workers, from the ships and other industries. Thousands of them understand the necessity of organisation, many of them have been members of the union in their own industry. This year these men are going to play a different role. This year the *mate* has got to contain more sugar, and they are going to want eggs, churrascos and meat for the first meal. At the mid-day meal there will have to be meat and salad in addition to our old friend *puchero*. There is going to be tea, and plenty of it, and tea is a luxury in this country. At 2.30 p.m. they are going to have another small meal and a 40 minutes' rest, which probably almost cause heart failure to the estanciero and hangers on. They also want to have the *mate* ready before starting work in the morning. They are going to decline to get up before the sun, and also to work after that gentleman has knocked off.

If they work some portion of half-a-day and have to knock off through rain, or breakage of machine, or any other matter, they want to be paid for the half-day, whether the time worked be ten minutes or three hours and a half. They want to be paid in money, not in promises, or lottery tickets or fowls, gramophone records, or left-off clothes. And when the gladsome day comes when the wheat is reaped, winnowed, thrashed and stacked, they want to be taken to the nearest station in a carriage or conveyance, at the expense of the proprietor.

Estancieros and machine agents are to be notified of these demands by the delegates of the Agricultural Workers' Union, and if they are agreeable they are to sign it, and give their order to the Union for the men. The Union is to establish offices in every pastoral centre, with general headquarters in Rosario. Of course, if the owners do not agree to these very reasonable terms, then, we presume, the boycott will be applied.

The wages are to be 10 pesos per day for day workers. Only days and half-days

are to be counted. Quarter-days are to be abolished. On the machine a fireman shall have 200 pesos per month; cooks, 200 pesos per month; fireman's assistant, 150 pesos per month; oilers, 200 pesos per month; all other hands, 10 pesos per day. The enforcement of these conditions and wages, while not coming up to the standard enforced in Australia and some parts of the United States, will effect a great change throughout the country, and be of far-reaching value to the worker in the camp. It will give him leisure, and show him some of the tangible results of organisation. It will bring him within hailing distance of his fellow-workers in the other industries in Argentina, who are now busily engaged in organising and financing the Agricultural Workers' Union. Money is flowing in from all directions, and competent organisers are going to the country this year for a change. Roughly, there must be somewhere in the direction of a million workers engaged in the harvest.

With the sweep of the season from the northern provinces will come the sweep of the organisation. A gigantic week will be established, and served by hundreds of enthusiastic delegates, who will be armed with supplies for joining up members. They will attempt from the beginning to establish job control, to link all the men up. "No Union Ticket, No Job," will be the slogan.

Literature has been printed in great quantities calculated to arrest the attention of the country workers. Newspapers will be printed and distributed in the usual Argentina working class style, free of charge, giving news of the organisation, its doings, fights and conquests. Songs are being written to instil the solidarity by agreeable sounds to the ears of the brown toilers of earth.

Back of all this activity stands the imperative and unimpedable call for the One Big Union. The workers in the ports and on the railways know well that successful organisation must reach right back into the source of the country's wealth, back to the grain fields. Power is tested by the weakest link. The country workers have been the weak link. This will be the last years of weakness. A new link is being forged. This is the day of big things—and quick things. Eight months ago, Argentina was the weakest point in international marine Unionism. Now it is one of the strongest. The Marine Transport Workers made it so. The Agricultural Workers will make and create an unconquerable force out of the despised pariahs of the camp. Long live the Agricultural Workers' Union.

Picture the One Big Union, fellow-workers. The harvest worker toiling in Argentina reaping and producing the grain, the railway workers carrying it to the ports, the longshoremen loading it to the ships, the seamen and firemen in the ships carrying it to the doors of other countries, the longshoremen there unloading it, the railwaymen again carrying it to the depots, the carters to the stores, the store-worker selling it to the ultimate consumer; all members of the One Big Union, all with the idea of the proletariat in their minds and souls. The links are being forged, fellow-workers, in all directions. Give us more men, more initiative, and no force on this earth can hold it or sway it.

Wheat and barley and maize to-day are the things that are gambled with. These priceless treasures, which ensure the happiness and well-being of the race are held in the hands of the master of bread. The men who reap, the men who carry, the men who make, are putty, like the wheat in the hands of the masters of bread. The loaded dice of the gambler has far too long been the governing force of Society.

Forward, the Agricultural Workers' Union in South America!

TOM BARKER.

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY. By MAXIM GORKI.

Yesterday was the day of the great lie—the last day of its power. Of old, thread by thread, mankind carefully spun the stout spider's web of cautious commonplace life and imbued it more and more with lies and greed. The cynical lie, that man must feed on the flesh and blood of his neighbour, and the instruments of production—instruments of the struggle against nature—should serve as instruments of the oppression of man—this lie was counted unassailable truth.

And behold, yesterday they walked along this road to the madness of all-European war; its ghastly flare suddenly lit up the whole abominable nakedness of the old, close-spun lie and we see: the old world is shaken to its foundations, shattered, its dark secrets are laid bare, and to-day even the blind, made whole, see all the abomination of the past.

To-day is the awful day of requital for the lie that ruled yesterday.

By the force of the breaking patience of the nations the old rotten life is destroyed, and can nevermore be regenerated in the old shape. Is everything dead that is of yesterday? No! It will be killed to-morrow.

There is much that is horrible to-day, but it is all natural and understandable. Is it not natural, that those poisoned with the strong poisons of power—with alcohol and syphilis—cannot be magnanimous? Is it not natural that men steal if theft was the fundamental law of yesterday? It is natural to kill men by the ten, by the hundred, by the thousand, when in the course of four years we have grown accustomed to kill them by millions. Yesterday's seed cannot but crop up to-day; the present day is cruel, but cruelty was born before it. Evil is worked by the deeds of men, nothing comes into being without us. Amongst the ruins of the past, all it was bound up and blended with is clearly and distinctly visible, and all that was hidden in the souls of the down-trodden to-day rouses them to tread down others. Man stands before the mirror of history naked as a beast, all aflame with the fire of belated and needless vengeance: much evil may be said of the man of these days.

But it must be remembered that the shadows are so deep because the day is too bright. It must be understood that to-day, in the dust, rubbish and chaos of destruction, the great work of freeing mankind out of the strong, iron spider's web of the past—a work awful and arduous, even as the pangs of birth—has already begun. It must be felt that the evil of yesterday, together with the men of yesterday, is outliving its last hours.

It happened so, that into the fight for the triumph of justice, in the van of nations, march the very weakest and most untried champions—Russian men, men of a country backward in trade and culture, men crippled by their past more than any others. It was but yesterday that the world counted them half-savages, and to-day they march, starving, towards victory or death, glowing and intrepid as old war-worn warriors.

Every man who sincerely believes that the unconquerable striving of mankind after freedom, beauty, reasonable life, is not a fruitless dream, but a perfectly real force, the only one capable of creating new forms of life; every man who believes that this force really is the lever for shifting the world out of its hinges—every honest man ought to recognise the world significance of the deeds achieved by the most honourable revolutionaries of Russia.

What at present is being done in Russia ought to be looked on as a gigantic attempt to turn into real life, into real fact, the high ideals and words created and spoken by the teachers of mankind, the sages of Europe. Yesterday it was European socialistic thought that taught the Russian nation to think, to-day the Russian workingman works for the triumph of European thought.

And should the honourable Russian revolutionaries—small in number, surrounded by foes, tortured by hunger as they are—be vanquished, the consequences of this frightful disaster will fall heavily upon the shoulders of all revolutionaries of Europe, of the entity of its workers.

For this catastrophe—should it happen—all those will have to pay with their life and blood, who do not feel, do not understand, the awe-inspiring struggle fought out day by day by the Russian workers.

An honest heart does not waver, honest thought is strange to the temptation of compromise, honest hands will not cease to toil while the heart beats; the Russian workman believes that his brethren in spirit will not allow the revolution in Russia to be crushed, will not let all be resuscitated anew that is mortally wounded, expiring, disappearing, that will surely disappear, if the great tasks of to-day will be understood by the revolutionary thought of Europe.

"CLARTÉ" & Mr. ZANGWILL.

A society called *Clarté* has been formed, but it greatly belies its title, for its principles appear to be decidedly obscure. The primary reason for its formation seems to be that the intellectuals may have a society of their own, free from the contaminations of the common herd of dull-brained humanity. Into the English section of this society of illumination, there seems to have crept some who are not "intellectuals," and these naughty people, so Mr. Zangwill complains, have added a dash of Socialism to their programme, and thus "superfluously handicapped" themselves. Therefore Mr. Zangwill, who is a member of the International Committee of Clarté, has refused to join the English section.

". . . . Clarté is an International of ideas, working with and for the Labour movement," says the manifesto of the British section—and this is how Clarté has begun its course.

We do not blame Israel Zangwill for not seeing clearly enough to be a Socialist. Perhaps in the dark past, some pre-historic ancestor of his, scraping himself with an appropriately chosen flint, made more appropriate still by his own careful knocking of that flint on another, refused as steadfastly to be a convert to the new-fangled art of washing, and sought laboriously to prove that washing with water was not a general habit of the early Jewish race.

We reserve our criticism for the lion hunters who set out to form a society of well-known individuals, without attempting to find out whether there is any fundamental principle on which those personages could agree.

In "Democratic" America.

The Communist Party in America has been marked out for persecution by the Government. Mr. Wilson, Secretary of Labour, declares it to be a "revolutionary party" within the meaning of the American Deportation Law. Already we have read reports of revolutionary Russian citizens being deported; now some 89 Americans, amongst whom Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes is mentioned, have been "indicted by the special grand jury as Communists," plotting against the United States Government!

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"War to End War."

A breath of honesty is at all times welcome, even when that honesty conveys an unpleasant truth. *The Times* does not believe in letting grass grow under its feet, or rather, on the graves of the "heroes" who died to rescue humanity from the scourge of war!

Articles have recently been appearing in the columns of *The Times* on "The Future of the Army." The "War Correspondent" discusses the next war, which is a "real risk," and therefore to be faced. He talks of a Regular Army, varying from 500,000 to 2,000,000, and of a "Second Line Army of two million men," which should form a new "Citizen Army" on the lines of the old Territorials, without the "pretence" that this army is destined for home defence only. Altogether, we see in this correspondent, a man who goes straight to the point. Labour, the *Times'* prodigy affirms, could be most useful in fashioning this "Second Line Army." Does Labour doubt that this army is destined to destroy Russia, the greatest military power now, and the only formidable one at the moment? Let the workers beware of these citizen armies which are to be used as strike breakers at home, and to crush the power of the workers in whatever country it may gain ground.

Foch on Peace.

Foch, marshalled by the blood of martyred workers, is still bloodthirsty. He registers his opposition to peace with Russia. But Foch, the soldier, is only stupidly blunt enough to say out loudly what the politicians want to accomplish silently and, perhaps, not in a way to his liking. The workers of the Allied countries should not let themselves be fooled into believing that their Capitalist governments will make any real and lasting peace with Communist Russia.

The Fight Against the Soviets.

Disquieting rumours are being circulated in the press that the Council of People's Commissaries has left Moscow for Tver; as one paper says on account of the plague, another that the Red soldiers are in revolt. These stories circulated just now, when Maxim Litvinoff is negotiating in Copenhagen, can have but one reason: to weaken the Bolshevik position.

We remember how stories in connection with the fall of Petrograd all proved to be false, and unfounded, as we had imagined. Maxim Litvinoff is being subjected, in Copenhagen, to the most unjust treatment, being driven from one hotel to another, whilst negotiating with the British representative, O'Grady. Why does not Mr. O'Grady say that he refuses to carry on negotiations until Maxim Litvinoff is left in peace? Does he acquiesce in these petty persecutions?

One may ask: "What do the Allies want to attain by these tactics?" Do they want to make Soviet Russia declare war by allowing her ambassador to be insulted? If this is not the case, why not raise the whip hand to the Copenhagen authorities, demanding undisturbed hospitality? Do British workers realise that a representative of the first workers' republic is being treated in a manner in which no capitalist government's representative would be treated, without "representations" being made and "proceedings" being taken!

* * *

In *L'Humanité* of January 22nd, it is reported that French hospital ships have been ordered to the Black Sea, and French warships have been warned to be ready to go to Constantinople. These movements, coinciding with the despatch of the British Mediterranean Squadron to Russian waters, have created alarm in maritime circles, where there is a persistent rumour of a new blockade of part of the Russian coast.

Lansbury on Atrocities.

It has been the usual experience of all open-minded people who go to Russia, or the bordering countries to become converts to Bolshevism. Mr. George Lansbury proves to be no exception, and any doubts he may have had as to the atrocity concoctions, served daily by Northcliffe and company, are fast disappearing. He writes in the *Daily Herald* of January 26th:—

As to atrocities, I have interviewed a Red Cross worker direct from Russia. He declares that there is no drinking amongst civilians or soldiers, and that persons found with liquor are heavily punished. There is practically no immorality amongst the soldiers. Prostitution is non-existent. As to the churches in Moscow, these are open as usual. There is complete freedom on all religious questions. Marriage is a civil affair, but may be confirmed in church is the parties desire.

He has been through all the revolutions, and says that the Whites shoot their prisoners offhand, whereas the Soviet authorities always put prisoners through some form of trial. Denikin's armies were particularly brutal, especially to Jews, and gave orders that no Jewish prisoners were to be taken, but were to be shot at sight. This man, who speaks thus, is not a Bolshevik, but simply a humanitarian worker who wishes the truth to be known.

Irish Lesson to the Labour Party.

The deputation of the British Labour Party, now in Ireland, has experienced a serious shock in finding out that the Irish put no faith in any British party. If the Labour Party realises and acts on this one vital point, the journey will not have been made in vain.

Life in Ireland.

	1917.	1918.	1919
Military Murders	7	6	7
Deportations	24	91	22
Armed Assaults on Civilians	18	81	382
Raids on Private Houses ...	11	260	12,589
Arrests	349	1,107	963
Courts-martial	36	62	259
Sentences	269	973	778
Proclamations and Suppressions	2	32	364
Suppressions of Newspapers	3	12	26
Total	719	2,624	15,390

Chaos in Hungary.

From Budapest the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* reports that agents of the Allied capitalists are tumbling over each other in the scramble to buy up the industries of Hungary, which are now dirt-cheap. Existing conditions in that unhappy land illustrate what Soviet Russia would have been, and what it will become, should the Allied pirates succeed in their endeavours to overthrow the Workers' Federation presided over by Lenin. For the terrible situation obtaining in Hungary to-day, the Socialists and working-men, who connived with the Allies to oust Bela Kun, are to blame. They sold the Revolution for a mess of pottage, which was snatched from them by their accomplices before they could stuff their worthless stomachs with it. Very fine. But who is suffering? Who is starving and dying of disease? It is the Hungarian proletariat.

The same types of men who gave away the Revolution are to-day prominent in our English Socialist and Labour world. If the proletariat do not get rid of them in time, they, too, will use their influence to defeat the great inevitable change that is coming. And the workers will have to pay the price.

Those Prisoners.

"Prisoners of War" more than a year after the conclusion of hostilities is a strange term, and yet there are 240,000 citizens of the old Austrian Empire still in Siberia and Turkestan. There were 400,000, but hunger and disease have done their bit in helping the Allies to exterminate this race.

The Bolshevik Revolution freed these men, who sold all they had to return home. But fate, in the shape of the Allied armies, stopped their progress. They were thus forced to remain in exile; the changes in the government of Russia brought changes in their state, but, free or imprisoned, these poor wretches were always starving. On Monday evening, at the Essex Hall, Frau Yella Hertzka, of Vienna, told this story, and explained that the torture of these men was part of the "political game."

The Russian Government has promised them transport, all that is now required is passports for social workers and others, to help in that transport. If England says "Yes," Poland cannot refuse, nor will Italy. Already the responsibility for these most awful atrocities lies at the door of the British Government. Already spotted fever and hunger have wiped out whole camps; because Red Cross workers were prevented by the Allies from reaching Russia, to help these prisoners, who are now undergoing their sixth Siberian winter, starving and in rags. Capitalist Governments have done this awful thing: workers, use your weapons and power before it is too late. As one of the speakers said: "If we wait for the Governments to act, there will be no need for transport, as there will be no one left alive to need it." Soviet Russia has led the way by granting *free* transport! Let us do the rest.

Egypt Aflame.

Great changes are taking place in Egypt. Political differences are set aside, caste lines are being obliterated, and Mohammedan and Christian march together under the symbol of the crescent and the cross, and worship in the same temple for the glorious cause of Independence. A young copt, voicing the deep feelings of Egyptian Christians, declares that it would be better that all the Christians perished, and Egypt left to the Mohammedans, than for her to remain under the yolk of British Imperialism.

Wonderful, though overworked, is the only word that can express this marvellous enthusiasm of the Egyptians. Would to God we workers of the West would catch some of this flaming Eastern fire, bury our differences, and unite for a period, regardless of nation or race, colour or creed, to tear down the hideous structure of Capitalism.

Another Bribe.

Informants are now to be tempted in Ireland by a bribe of £10,000 "reward" to track down the "murderers" of the police. The Irish police are the instruments of a tyrannical British Government, and are therefore regarded as enemies by their fellow-countrymen.

Red Flag at Durban Town Hall.

The hoisting of the Red Flag at Durban Town Hall by municipal employees who struck as a protest against the dismissal of the Town Clerk is one of those little straws that shows how the wind blows!

Co-operative Movement in Russia.

Mme. Polovtse secretary of the Joint Committee of Russian Co-operative organisations, states that in July, 1918, there were 34,906 consumers' societies, whereas in 1916 there were but 15,147.

Pass the "DREADNOUGHT" on to your Friends.

THE LABOUR PARTY: The Danger of That Shilling!

Whosoever shall pay us a shilling a year, and whosoever agrees to vote "Labour" for anyone and anybody without any Socialist programme or antecedents, if merely blessed by the Labour Party, shall be considered the democrat, the Socialist, the proletariat champion of Great Britain. A very simple, easy British method to create Socialism and spread the power of democracy.

We have an illustration just now. A Labour Party was formed for enthusing Parliamentary Labour votes in the Twickenham division, with its affiliated branch at Isleworth. Friend Joseph Weathers, who in his own words "had never bothered about politics in the past," found this shilling a year scheme tempting, and discovered in his advancing age that he "had a good income, spare energy, leisure, and good brains and special talent to spare which should be employed for the benefit of his comrades, the workers." With the above qualifications he becomes facile princeps, and on paying in his twelve pence he is elected chairman of Isleworth Labour Party, general treasurer of the whole division, walks in the Middlesex County Council, and is actually suggested by his "comrades" as a possible Parliamentary candidate. All these honours were thrust upon him and not at all sought by him, as Mr. Weathers himself explained.

The Pearl Insurance agents' strike takes place. Mr. Weathers happens to be professionally connected with the Pearl Co., having begun years ago as an agent. Following the capitalist tactics of War and Foreign Offices, the Pearl directors also in this war with agents think of appointing a "publicity man" to spread broadcast "truth," "wisdom," "knowledge," "facts," in defence of the directors against the agents' "irrational and unjust demands." They, too, appreciate Mr. Weathers's qualifications for benevolence towards "working comrades," and for the same reasons that led Mr. Weathers to join the Labour Party, the directors select him to be their publicity man, and exactly for the same reasons Mr. Weathers accepts! The publicity man's "words of wisdom" have been advertised broadcast in capitalist papers at heavy expenditure.

Anyhow, the Twickenham Labour Party happened to possess the genuine article as well as the shilling-a-year Socialists, fallen away from their old associates all in a hurry. Their energetic secretary, comrade Brigham, immediately published a disavowal of Mr. Weathers's anti-labour views. Last Thursday an overcrowded meeting of the Isleworth Labour Party was held for the special purpose of dealing with this phase of the Labour Party membership. Mr. Joseph Weathers was present to act as his own publicity man this time. The Council of the Twickenham Divisional Party were present with comrade Saklatvala as their official spokesman and comrade Brigham as a backer. Mr. Weathers described his eminence in the country as an insurance expert, predicted that the Pearl Insurance Co. would wind up business if the agents' demands were granted (which, by the way, *were* granted that evening without any act of bankruptcy on the part of the Pearl), explained to his audience how the capitalist insurance companies, earning 50 per cent. dividends on paid capital, were making *ridiculously* small profits on turnover, and were *really* acting as *humanitarian* benefactors to mankind; he warned the audience against dangers of unemployment (not of directors but only for poor agents and workers) if insurance was completely nationalised. He repeated his contempt for the intellect of those who were earning low wages, when a bright expert like himself could earn more than he required, he denounced the trade union organisers that were fighting for agents working on a few shillings weekly as adventurers who ought to be cleared out of the Labour Party, and he applauded the Directors as true Socialists (who, of course, must all come into the Labour movement if Mr. Weathers had his way) because they charged equal premium rates to half-starving workers and to Dukes rolling in un-earned wealth. He spent an hour in long eulogy of the Pearl Company.

Then comrade Saklatvala was asked to deliver the message of his Council. He asked the Labour Party to forget all about the Pearl, and Mr. Weathers's claims as a super-agent in the insurance world. All that mattered to them was whether Mr. Weathers was a genuine Labour man and democrat or not. The speaker attributed no motives whatever, and described Mr. Weathers rather as a victim like several others, of hasty self-persuasion that he had become a convert to Labour and Socialist conviction, when in fact he had not grasped the fundamental basis of Labour principles. He had been in a profession where a trade union was existing and struggling to grow. Mr. Weathers not only keeps out of it, fails to assist it, but derides it, does his best to pull it down at a critical stage when it ventures to put forth its first fight, and slanders the heroic organisers and helpers as adventurers. He was himself making a high income; he knew of others who were earning £6 to £10 a week which helped to make up the misleading and miserable *average* of £3 weekly, clearly proving existence of weekly incomes of 30/- and lower, equivalent to 15/- pre-war, and yet he was denying the protective need of a minimum wage under the existing dividend-squeezing capitalist system. He was talking of Pearl Directors as Socialists; because they were charging same prices to all, and a man's ignorance of Socialism could not be worse betrayed. Every manufacturer and merchant was doing the same.

In modern society the price of insurance premium, sugar, butter, boots, clothes, champagne or beer was the same for the starving beggar and the lazy Duke to the good fortune of the Duke, when there was no such equality in their incomes. This was where Mr Weathers failed to grasp the first principles of Socialism. Socialism deals with the equal rights of producers and workers before those of customers. As long as the Pearl Directors were working on £1,200 a year and some agents on £60 to £80 a year, all talk of Socialism was ridiculous and cruel. Other details of Mr. Weathers's anti-labour philosophy were similarly dealt with.

The recommendation of the Council was followed up by the following resolution, proposed by a leading member of the Isleworth Party, and carried unanimously:—

"This rank and file meeting of the Isleworth Labour Party requests Mr. J. Weathers to sever his connection, and hereby considers his connection as severed, from the Isleworth Labour Party on account of his publicly expressed views against the fundamental principles of trade unionism, minimum wage, and the rights of labour as against the employer in the existing capitalist system."

Will members of all branches of the Party all throughout the country begin to investigate into the Labour conscience of all their members? Our I.L.P. comrades are recently much perturbed about the advent of ex-Liberals in their ranks, especially when they are obtaining an invidious brass-band and red-carpet reception from the N.A.C. who are showing greater and greater respect to office and social distinction. Shall there be no searching of their Socialist conscience, and no time-test of the hastiness of their self-persuasion? Is it a reinforcement silently and gratefully received by the N.A.C. to enable them to retire to the safe haven of the Right from the ever-increasing invasion of the Left in the rank and file? S.S.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS.

Anarchist Daily in Italy.

Italian anarchists have raised the money necessary for the publication of a daily paper, *Umanita Nuova*, printed by their own press. The date of the first number was January 25th. The managing editor is Errico Malatesta, who is confident of its success.

A Cabinet of Renegades.

L'Humanité (Paris) points out that the new French Ministry is one of renegades Monsieur Millerand is a traitor not only to Socialism but even to republicanism, and has tried to surround himself with men of his own kind. Monsieur André Lefèvre has also been a member of the Socialist Party, and abandoned his principles for the sake of ambition, having gone over completely to the extreme reactionaries. As to Monsieur Landry, the new Minister of Marine, he also entered the Socialist Party, "but turned round three times and went out again." Monsieur J. L. Breton is perhaps the greatest renegade of all. Formerly a colleague of Vaillant, he abandoned the party to which he owed all. *L'Humanité* puts his case down to want of mental balance rather than ambition. Monsieur Coupat, formerly a working man and secretary of the Federation of Mechanics, has been made undersecretary of education because M. Millerand thought it as well to have somebody in the Ministry "to represent the working class." M. L'Hopiteau is merely a renegade from the Radical Party who has moved to the right.

New French Peasants' Paper.

At the office of *L'Humanité*, 142, rue Montmartre, Paris, there is to start on February 1st, *La Voix Paysanne*, under the direction of the veteran Parliamentary representative of Socialist field workers, Compère-Morel. Compère-Morel is rather a dogmatic Marxist, but is a thoroughly sincere and hard worker for the workers employed on the land, which was his own employment as a boy.

La Voix Paysanne is to be sold by subscription only, 3 francs per quarter.

Spanish Workers Must Trust Themselves.

Among all the conflicting influences in Spain of politics, religion, "nationalism," and varying policies, the one thing which stands out quite clearly is that the Cortes (Houses of Parliament) are utterly discredited. The official Socialists seem to believe this almost as firmly as the anarchists and syndicalists. *El Socialista* points out that the plutocratic caste ignores the laws of the State. "Parliament, whose majorities continue to be secretly at the service of the Government, is further reduced to sterility because these majorities, mongrel and shapeless, are incapable of being absorbed by either of the active tendencies of government. They are incapable, on the one hand, of facing revolution, direct or indirect; and, on the other, they are provoking it by a reactionary dictatorship." In short, there are only two forces in Spain which count. On the one hand the plutocratic, militarist caste, which came again into power in the middle of 1917, and which successive Cabinets have either tolerated or positively favoured, and, on the other, the revolutionary workers. The workers have not yet learnt to be united in action and tactics—the Catalans differing from the workers of Madrid or Biscay; but with the price of necessaries going up at quite double the rate of the rise in wages, it is probable that the workers of Spain will be forced to take united revolutionary action

Socialism Grows in Algeria.

André Julien, a Socialist Councillor of Oran, Algeria, writing to *Le Populaire*, is hopeful for the future of Socialism in Algeria. There have been some notable Socialist successes in the municipal and departmental elections. The bad administration of the colony is likely to prove as strong in propagating Socialism as the work of the Socialists themselves. The system of huge landed properties, stolen from the natives, or got from them by cajolery, together with the quickly obtained fortunes of the capitalists, and the miserable condition of the proletariat, Jews, natives, Spaniards and Italians are all likely to make the workers see the necessity for Socialism. But there will be difficult obstacles to overcome. Foolish prejudice still exists against the Jews and the natives; while the administration is as powerful as it is tyrannous, and will do everything to defend itself. L.J.S.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

The Communist Party & Industrial Unionism.

By G. ZINOVIEV.

(From "La Nouvelle Internationale.")

PART II.

(Part I. appeared on January 10th.)

III. The Theory of the Equality of Rights.

Even amongst the more hopeful section of the old International, the opinion was very prevalent that the Communist Party on the one hand, and the Industrial Unions on the other hand, were organisations of equal value—having the same rights—organisations which collaborate on important questions of all kinds, like two contracting parties. The Communist Party should control the political side, whilst the Industrial Unions controlled the economic side. Thus, for example: the German Social Democrats passed a resolution, supported by August Bebel, stating that if it should ever be necessary to employ the weapon of the general strike, this question could only be decided by a conference between the executive of the Party and the general committee of the Industrial Unions.

From the Communist viewpoint this opinion cannot be recognised. The equality of rights theory has always been disputed by the revolutionary Marxians.

From the revolutionary Marxian viewpoint, the Communist Party is the ultimate re-union of all phases of the struggle by the working class for freedom from the capitalist yoke. The Communist Party makes use of a whole arsenal of arms to win this fight. The political struggle is indissolubly bound up with the economic struggle. The Communist Party denotes the directions of the political as well as the economic struggle. The Communist Party is the advance-guard of the proletariat. By the torch of Communism it lights up all the corners of the road leading to liberation of the workers. On this account, the work which the Communists are doing in the Industrial Unions is truly but a fraction of the work which the Communist Party, as such, is doing.

During a period of dictatorship such as we are passing through now, one can still less think of any compromise with the equality of rights theory. The least deviation in this direction must be strenuously fought, in theory as well as in practice.

IV. The "Non-Party" Trade Unions.

The present trade unions are not necessarily under the Communist Party. All workers, both men and women, are received into them without any consideration as to their adhesion to the Party or to what their religion may be. A worker who does not belong to the Party has the full right to join our trade unions. But on that account, Communists who work in the trade unions should not fail to pay attention to the conservative character of the members who do not belong to the Party. The Communists and the Communist faction in the trade unions must preach Communism openly. The leaders of the trade unions must constantly draw the attention of the workers to this fact, that the enemies of Communism, not belonging to the Party, are trying to deceive them. They should explain to the workers why the trade unions, whilst they are not formally trade unions, always help the Communist Party, recognising the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending the Power of the Soviets and the World Revolution.

V. The Unfavourable Parties (The Other Side) and the Modern Trade Union Movement.

The modern trade unions are doing an enormous work, and to a great extent facilitate the struggle of the Communist Party and of the Power of the Soviets for Socialism. But at the same time, there is, during our transition, a dark side to the activity of the trade unions. For example, some workers of the workers trade unions in the docks of the Volga support the demands for wages of their short-sighted individual-members (without even having helped the Power of the Soviets in its fight against the incredible thefts which have been committed by the dockyard workers); they prove that they are very much behind the times, and that they are incapable of rising above the narrow interests of their group. When certain associations of clerks and other similar commercial associations introduce people into the Soviet institutions, who are not fit to do the work which is entrusted to them, and when these associations take up the demands of their members, forgetting that they no longer have to deal with employers but with the proletarian State, they equally prove their trade union narrowness. The fight against these negative parties of the working class movement is one of the chief duties of the Communists in the trade unions.

VI. Concessions to Trade Unionism.

At a time when the best elements in French trade unionism are abandoning their former errors, and moving towards Communism in laying down the principle: "All power to the Workers' Councils," there are working class groups and circles in Russia who are trying to revive the worst sides of trade unionism. The famous Left-Wing Socialist Revolutionary Party adopted at its conference, which took place a short time ago, a resolution dealing with labour policy, in which it demands the transference of the whole of the administration of industry and transport to the trade unions in the person of the Central Committee of the Trade Unions (point 3 of the resolution). Further, it advocates common action with the trade union organisations of the whole world with the aim of taking possession of the social revolution, of the administration of industry and means of transport of the whole world by a combine of trade unions. The Communists who work in the trade unions should strongly oppose union tendencies of this kind.

VII. So-called "Industrialism."

It is equally necessary to turn against the tendencies known by the name of "industrialism," which are defended by some members of the Russian working class movement (members of the administration of the All-Russian Association of Metal Workers).

The industrialists want to build up all our edifice on the skilled workers, and to put aside the whole mass of unskilled workers. Doubtless the War and the Revolution have led to many fundamental changes in the social structure of the proletariat itself. There is no possible doubt about that. The factory worker of to-day is certainly the most developed part of the proletariat. But in no case can it be the task of the Communists, men of the working class, only to elect skilled workers who form a minority of the working class. The Communist ideas have nothing in common with the propagation of the working class aristocracy. On the contrary, the task of the Communists, of the people in the working class movement, consists in helping the most advanced sections of the industrial workers to organise little by little the whole mass of the proletariat, including the unskilled workers, and to include them in the structure of the work of the State. The policy of industrialism, which at first sight appears to be radical, is in practice only the opportunist policy of the leaders of the working class aristocracy. When all is said and done, this policy will be worthy of that of the social-traitors.

VIII. State Trade Unions.

In the resolution which was adopted by the All-Russian Trade Unions Congress, in January, 1918, it had already been decided that "the Congress is convinced that the process which is taking place in the trade unions will lead to their transformation into organisations of the Socialist State, and at the same time trade union membership will be a State obligation for all the workers who belong to the same branch of industry." (Point 9 of the resolution.)

This conviction of the All-Russian Congress is based on facts. The trade unions are gradually assuming the attributes of State organisations. They really work as veritable organs of the power of the State when they realise a mobilisation of their members, when they concentrate workers in one town, when they transfer the work from one part of Russia to another, when they give their vote on a question of wages, when they exercise by means of their representation a decisive influence on the activity of the Superior National Economic Council.

And just because this transformation of trade unions into State organisations takes place gradually, and quite normally, at present there is no necessity to force this process in any way and to proclaim from one minute to another the transformation of trade unions into State organisations. The Communists who work in the trade unions have serious reasons for adhering to the resolution of the First and Second All-Russian Trade Unions' Congress in this matter.

IX. Fractions, Trade Unions and Local Organisations of the Party.

In every trade union there should be a Communist section, strongly organised and disciplined. The local Communist sections propagate the decisions on economic matters of the Central Fraction of the All-Russian Trade Unions' Council. No concession to what is called "localism" should be allowed. The policy of wages, questions of hours of labour, of food, etc., should all be ruthlessly treated from the All-Russian point of view. Yet each fraction of the Party in a trade union is nothing but the "Party kernel" of the local organisation. The whole trade union section for the town is completely subject to the local committee of the Party, whilst the All-Russian fraction of the trade unions is subject to the Central Committee of the Party.

The distribution of the workers, their mobilisation in a certain town for the needs of the Red Army, is exclusively the work of the local organisation of the Party, under the general direction of the Central Committee of the Party. For the mobilisation of the workers, the Committee of the Party should come to an understanding with the Communist fraction of the trade unions, but the Party organisation has the casting vote. The Party organisation leads all the party of the trade unions actively, but its direction is never of an irksome nature.

X. Organisation of the Rural Worker.

One of the most important tasks of the working class movement at present in Russia, is the organisation of the rural workers. It is necessary to help the already existing organisations of the workers by all means possible. The Communists working in the working class movement should consider it an honour to organise the rural workers. This task requires a good deal of energy and power.

XI. The Trade Unions and the International.

In consequence of certain peculiarities in the evolution of the working class movement in Western Europe, a false conception exists about the trade unions amongst the German Communists and the Communists of other countries. Our Party believes that we cannot do without the trade unions. During the proletarian revolution, the trade unions will separate themselves in the same way as the old Social-Democratic Parties. The experiences of the German working class movement showed us that already the Berlin trade unions are freeing themselves from the pernicious influence of the social-democracy of Scheidemann.

The Russian trades union movement should take the initiative in creating a Red International trade union, in the same way as the political party has done in the political field. At the Congress of the Red International, not only should the organisations of the Party be represented, but also the organisations of the Workers' Councils, the Co-operative Societies, and the Communist Trade Unions who approve of the dictatorship of the Proletariat and the Power of the Soviets. Meantime, it is necessary to create the International Union of the Trade Unions, which already take their stand in the Communist International.

The Russian Trade Unions Appeal for a Real Trade Union International.

"The All-Russian Central Council of Trades Unions invites all the economic organisations of the workers believing in the real and revolutionary class-struggle for the emancipation of labour by the dictatorship of the proletariat, to consolidate their ranks against the International League of Brigands, to break with the International of the compromisers, and to proceed in union with the All-Russian Central Council of Trades Unions, to organise a real International Conference of the Trades Unions and real revolutionary workers' organisations.

We beg all the economic organisations of the workers, who accept the programme of the revolutionary class-struggle, to respond to our appeal, and to get into close touch with us."

Thus, for the future, the argument put forward by certain comrades for the refusal of their organisation to join the Third International of Moscow, falls to the ground. They were in sympathy with it, but strictly faithful to the idea of the autonomy of the Trade Union movement, they thought that they could not enter the International of the Revolution side by side with the political parties.

The situation to-day is clear. The Russian Trades Unions themselves put forward the twofold idea of an International Conference and of a Trades Union International.

In France a certain number of Trades Unions had adhered to the Third International; the engineers union of the Seine and a number of teachers' Trades Unions. Let us remember that by its resolution at the Lyons Congress, the Railway Workers' Union Uaris-Etat Rive Droite had asked the C.G.T. to come out from the false Trades Union International of Amsterdam, and join the only International of the Revolution—that of Moscow.

All the Trades Unions which have remained faithful to the revolutionary spirit will wish to answer: "Present!" to the call from our Russian brothers.

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WELSH NOTES. By R. P.

The General Federation of Associations of Firemen, Examiners' and Deputies' Conference concluded its sitting on the 17th inst. Demands for concessions that have in the main been won by the miners months and even years ago were put forward.

The following "interesting" resolution was also passed:—"That the Federation should give serious consideration to the compulsory methods adopted by the miners' officials to coerce firemen, etc., into the Miners' Federation."

Meanwhile, the rank and file of the miners are devoting much time to the perfecting of their plans for controlling and working the mines without officials.

Bolshevism is evidently rife in the Ammanford area. First the proprietor of the electric works threatens to cut off supplies if the Council refuse his request for increased prices; then a labour member arises, and whilst denouncing Bolshevism, threatens to organise the workers, and to turn out the boss and capture the whole of the plant.

An important conference of miners, Co-operative Societies, Labour Clubs, and Socialist organisations was called by the Rhondda No. 1 District Miners' Federation to consider the advisability of floating a weekly Labour paper in the Rhondda. Attempts were made to frustrate the intentions of the conference by arousing the animosity existing between the political and industrial delegates present.

Finally, a Committee, representing all shades of opinion, was selected to draft a scheme, or schemes, to be submitted to a future conference.

R. Pritchard, secretary, Cwmparc W.S.F. Branch, applied on the morning of the 9th inst. for permission to leave work an hour earlier inasmuch as he desired to attend the National Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees' Conference on the 10th and 11th inst.

The manager of the Park Pit, who had had a quarrel with Pritchard the night previous, whilst discussing certain grievances on behalf of the Federation, violated what is an established custom at the Park Colliery by refusing permission to Mr. Pritchard. Feeling righteously indignant, Pritchard returned to the pit bottom an hour and a half before time, and endeavoured to ascend the shaft with the firemen. This the hitcher refused to allow, and consequently coal winding was stopped for approximately ten minutes. As a result the following Tuesday Pritchard was called into the office, and told to return home. The Park workers, numbering 1,200, seeing that their fellow-worker had been victimised, decided that evening to down tools immediately.

After a powerful appeal from Pritchard, who said he felt he had such a good case that he could win it, without entailing any sacrifice on their part, they decided to rescind their previous resolution and to work in a constitutional way for Pritchard's reinstatement and payment for loss of time, in the interval the Federation Lodge to be responsible for Pritchard's wages. If, however, a settlement is not shortly arrived at, drastic action will not be further delayed.

Workers' Socialist Federation.

400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3.

The

Truth about Russia

A Meeting

will be held at the

POPLAR TOWN HALL

Newby Place, near Poplar Station,

on Friday, February 6th, 1920

at 8 p.m. Doors open 7.30 p.m.

SPEAKERS:

E. Sylvia Pankhurst

Lt.-Col. Malone, M.P.

Chair: Melvina Walker.

Admission Free. Silver Collection.

German Workers and Industrial Control.

The Scheidemann Social Democrat, Hué, one time secretary of the Miners' Union of Germany, says that the German workers are too ignorant and inexperienced to administer workers' control of industry; therefore socialisation is impossible! How does he account for the fact that the Russian workers are able to rise to the occasion? It would be absurd to suggest that the skilled workers of Germany are less able in this regard than the Russians. The real reason is that the Russian people had been well-schooled in Revolutionary ideals, and that Russian Socialism was little tainted by social-patriotism. Therefore the Russian workers were more ambitious in their demands.

But the German workers are coming to the point when they will no longer be gulled by the renegade leaders.

The Central Committee of the Berlin Workers' Council, at the head of which are Independents and Communists, have replied by issuing leaflets during the last few days demanding—

(1) Equal rights of control with the employers over production and distribution;

(2) Equal rights of control over appointments and dismissals;

(3) The right to examine all accounts;

(4) The right to recall and re-elect at any time members of the Workers' Councils.

(5) The right of co-operation between hand and brain in Workers' Councils, which is forbidden by the Bill as it now stands.

THINGS YOU OUGHT TO READ.

Facts About Communist Hungary, by Alice Riggs Hunt (an eye-witness). Bela Kun is being tried for his life. Read about his work in this pamphlet.

Price 4d., post free 4½d

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An Echo of the Winnipeg Soviet.

The tactics of Capital against Labour which are used in Canada and the U.S.A. are presently to be adopted over here. British workers should carefully consider the sequel to the Winnipeg general strike. The leaders of the strike have now been sentenced to two years' imprisonment on various charges arising out of the strike. The jury of twelve men who tried the case consisted of ten farmers and two merchants—this is the bourgeois "democratic" way of trying a man by his equals!

The strike leaders were declared guilty of sedition on seven counts. The verdict pronounces it seditious (1) to bring about a sympathetic strike; (2) to break contracts by striking; (3) to try to change laws by striking; (4) to organise One Big Union, which is called an "unlawful association or combination of workmen"; (5) to attempt by industrial combination to gain control of all industries; (6) to attempt to introduce the Soviet form of Government. (The strike leaders were, alas, not far enough advanced even to devise this, but they are declared guilty nevertheless.) (7) To commit "a common nuisance" by striking.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. MOTLER.

THE NEW SOGLASHATELISM.

I could have sworn she was Irish. You, too, Henry, would have sworn she was Irish. The glint in her eye proclaimed her as hailing from Tipperary, which as the London *Star* (21/1/20) says, "is the most disaffected county in Ireland." And this county, by the way, is the jolly little health resort where the British Prussians and the Irish (?) Royalist coppers have been chucking hand grenades at babies in their cots. But of that you may read elsewhere.

She had a knitted green jumper, or a green knitted jumper, and if there is an Irish girl who doesn't manage to put a wee bit touch of green somewhere about her wardrobe, then I have never kissed the blarney stone. But, strange to say, she wasn't Irish. By these signs ye shall know them. She was, in fact, Polish, and very polished at that. She bowed me to a seat.

It was the meeting of the Pontifically Infallible Disseminators of Soglashatelism; and the grave and reverend geyser on the right-hand side of the water-bottle was the Pontiff. This, the Irish-parding-Polish girl indicated to me in more grave and reverend language. (She told me once she thought a sense of humour in a man was so undignified.)

The business before the meeting was, after the Pontiff had signed the minute book with his eyes shut, to discuss the proposed stocking of certain books published by a rival organisation working on the same lines. This was the Archives of Soglashatelist Information, and they had precisely the same ideas as the P.I.D.S. had, and entertained the same kindly feelings towards these as those of them. I hope I have put it clearly. There is such a thing as analysis and parsing.

As the Pontiff got up on his beautifully-creased trousers and blessed the assembly, everybody bowed and you began to notice for the first time that the long hair of the men and the short hair of the females was about the same sameness.

"Comrades," he said, giving his beard a twirl, "we are here to consider whether we shall put upon our book list the harmful and insidious propagatory inscribitativeness of the Archives of what I may term Soglashatelist Misinformation. The titles themselves of some of the—ah—er—literature are in themselves purely and antagonistically opposed and otherwise oppositionally contradictory of our most sacred and cherished principles, and I move forthwith that the said literature be immediately and forthwith and umphumatically expunged and rejected."

And this, I am happy to say, was immediately and forthwith and umphumatically done. And as the Pontiff stepped down from the rostrum and put on his black velour hat, which informed anyone not then "in the know" and otherwise "up to snuff" that he was one of the Great Elect, the Poet approached him. I did not mention the Poet before, but can you see beyond two bright eyes from the direction of Poland?

The Poet's business with the Pontiff was apparently poetical, for I saw a few inscribed sheets open and glared at through the guaranteed rimless of the Pontiff. I should have stated that the said Pontiff was editorially responsible for an equally pontifical quarterly illustrated review, whose infallibility was matched only by that of the P.I.D.S. I peeped over the editorial shoulder and read the following alleged verses:

"Young men write poetry,
Old men despise it;
Wise men, these old men,
Wise men whose wisdom
Grows with their whiskers."

You could almost see the whiskers of the Pontiff spread out like the thirty-nine impregnable rocks of the Infallible Soglashatelists. But an editor has not read poetry for years in vain. I am speaking from experience myself. He read on:

"Give us our poetry,
Give us our love-songs,
Give us our warm blood,
Give us our folly."

It sounded like a litany; a kind of dirge over the graves of the eighteen million dead young men of Europe; the Pontifical Editor could no doubt write an infallible leading article on that subject himself. Or he could comply with the request of the long-haired lampoonist; but although there was a waste-paper-basket look already on his face, he had not shed his ink on the Home Front for nothing during five terrible years of war. He turned the last page:

"Foolishness, wisdom,
Both are the same thing,
Much of a muchness;
Old men whose wisdom
Grows with your whiskers."

"No," he said, giving his beard a trim, "I don,t think this would suit my paper. As poetical effusionism it may be interesting. But what does it prove?"

It seemed to prove, Henry, that old men do not consist entirely of wisdom and whiskers.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and the substitution of a Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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LONDON MEETINGS: OUTDOOR.

Friday, January 30th.—Dock Gates, Poplar, 7.30 p.m.—Melvina Walker, D. E. Maguire.
Saturday, January 31st.—Beckton-road, Canning Town (near Trinity Church, 3 p.m.—P. A Edmunds, Minnie Birch, Melvina Walker; Dock Gates, Poplar, 7 p.m.—Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, P. A. Edmunds.
Sunday, February 1st.—Osborn-street, Whitechapel, 11.15 a.m.—Melvina Walker, W. McCartney.
Tuesday, February 3rd.—Beckton-road, Canning Town, 7.30 p.m.—Miss Grove, Henry Sara. Chair: Melvina Walker.
Saturday, February 7th.—Meetings in Waterloo-road.

INDOOR.

Sunday, February 1st.—400, Old Ford-road, 7 p.m.—Henry Sara. Chair: Norah Smyth (see advertisement).
Monday, February 2nd.—20, Railway-street, 7.30 p.m., Poplar W.S.F. Business Meeting; 8.30 p.m., Poplar W.S.F. Reading Circle.
Thursday, February 5th—20, Railway-street, 8 p.m.—Mark Starr. 12th, lecture on Industrial History, Revision and the Future.
Friday, February 6th.—400, Old Ford-road, 7-10 p.m., Dancing.

W. S. F. Public Meeting

at 400, Old Ford Road,
on Sunday, February 1st, at 7 p.m.
HENRY SARA: "Marxian Communism."
CHAIR: NORAH SMYTH.
Admission Free. Silver Collection.
Questions and Discussion Invited.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE.
Sunday, February 1st.—Victoria Park, 12 (noon)—Walter Ponder and others.
Tuesday, February 3rd.—Queen's-road, Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m.—Walter Ponder and others.
Thursday, February 5th.—400, Old Ford-road, 7.30 p.m.—Business Meeting.
WALTHAMSTOW LEAGUE OF RIGHTS.
Tuesday, February 3rd.—William Morris Hall, Somers-road, 8 p.m.—Mrs. Christy.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

GENERAL FUND: Poplar W.S.F., £11. 10s.; H. P. Burgess, £2. 4s. 2d.; J. Leaky, 13s. 6d.; Miss E. T. Forty, 8s. 5d.; Miss Barham, 5s.; Mr. Mackintosh, 5s.

COLLECTIONS: Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Memorial Demonstration, £5. 10s. 10½d.; For Ironfounders Children's Fund, £2. 3s. 2d.; Osborne Street, £1. 9s. 6d.; Bow Workers' Hall, 10s. 3½d.

SOCIAL FUND: Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown (Monthly), £4.; Ethel M. Morgan (Annual), £3.; Misses Gulland (Monthly), £1. 15s.; Nurse Hebbes (10s. weekly), £1. 10s.; Miss Wood, per Miss Burgis, £1; Mrs. Fellowes, 5s.; Miss S. Saxby, 2s. 6d.; Anon, 2s. 6d.

COLLECTIONS: Misses J. Watts, A. Zeital, T. Barker (Green's Yard), 13s. 3d.; per Mrs. Moschewitz, 10s.

ELEMENTARY COURSE IN ECONOMICS.

At 20, Railway-street, beginning on Thursday, February 12th.

(1) Economics and other Sciences. Its many points touching Workers' life. Examples of dangerous Economic Fallacies.

(2) Products and Commodities. Use Value and Exchange Value Relation of Value and Price and the determinants of both.

(3) Labour and Labour Power. Special Labours and General Labour. The Value of Labour Power. Skilled and Unskilled Labour. The Commodity Status.

(4) Money. Earlier Forms of Value. Why Gold Became Money. Its Functions.

(5) Capital. Early Forms. Its Source. Its purpose of Profit making and how Profits are made.

(6) Wages. Daywork and Piecework. Nominal Real and Relative. Theories of Wages. Vicious Circle Fallacy.

(7) Modern Tendencies. Concentration of Power. Effects of Machinery. Scientific Management.

(8) Review of Course and its lessons for Workers.

THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The conclusion of the Report appearing in our Supplement this week will be published as a supplement to our next issue, Feb. 5th.

Rank & File Convention

Called by the

National Administrative Council
of
Shop Stewards' and Workers' Committees,
Scottish Workers' Committees,
London Workers' Committee and South Wales Unofficial Reform Committee.

To be held

The Day Before and Every Evening During the Trade Union Congress

in FEBRUARY.

All Workers' Committees, Trades Unions, Trades Union Branches, Trades Councils, Socialist Societies and their Branches are invited to send delegates.

Object: To declare the "Rank and File" policy in regard to Russia and the class-war.

If your society has not yet received an Agenda and invitation to the Convention, write to the Secretary, M. F. HEBBES, 10, Tudor Street, London, E.C. 4.

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SUPPLEMENT TO THE **Workers' Dreadnought** Saturday, January 31st, 1920.

THE FIRST MEETING OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL

IN WESTERN EUROPE

Reports from Various Countries.

In December a meeting of the Third International was held in Western Europe.

Owing to the White Terror and the refusal by capitalist governments to grant passports, it was not possible to make public announcements of the Conference at the time, and for the same reason it is not yet thought advisable to publish the exact place at which the Conference was held, or the names of the delegates who took part in it.

Owing to the inability of the Communist parties in many important countries to send delegates, it was decided that the Conference should be preparatory and informal, and that a fuller and more official Conference should be held later on.

At the preparation Conference representatives were present officially from:—

The Russian Communist Party.
The Polish Communist Party.
The German Communist Party.
The Austrian Communist Party.
The Roumanian Socialist Party.
The Workers' Socialist Federation of Britain.

It was decided to appoint a secretariat for Western Europe, to act provisionally until the next meeting of the International, and to appoint a provisional secretary or secretariat in each country.

The West European secretariat was to make arrangements for the next meeting of the Third International.

It was decided that the next meeting of the International should discuss:—

1. Reports of the situation in each country by delegates from those countries.
2. The International situation.
3. The tactics to be pursued in the revolutionary struggle of the working class.
4. Organisation.

The delegates present at the preparatory Conference were asked to report on the situation in their respective countries, and a volume of most important information was thus laid before the Conference, and these reports are in the main reproduced here.

The German report was briefer than the others, because the German comrades pointed out that the delegates present had the opportunity to investigate the German situation themselves. Instead of the German report to the Conference, I propose to publish as an appendix, notes on the German situation, which are a compilation of information given to me by the veteran German Socialist and Communist leader, Clara Zetkin.

The British report, which I gave as an informally-summoned member of one of the British Communist Parties, I do not give, as comrades here are fully aware of the situation at home.

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

RUSSIA

In Russia, the fact that dominates the political and economic situation, is that the period of working class struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie has come to an end.

In order that the working class may assume control, it is necessary, not only to deprive the capitalist class of all political and economic power, but also to free the workers, peasants, salaried employees and small bourgeois from the influence of bourgeois ideals..

The military defeat of the Kerensky troops was but the beginning of the working class conquest of political power. The next step was to conquer the bourgeois idealogy, which, under the influence of the Moderate Social Democrats (called Mensheviki), the working class still retained.

The bourgeois idealogy impeded, and even endangered the Revolution. It diminished solid co-operation in productive work, especially on the part of the so-called *intelligentsia*. It prompted sabotage, which was excused by the formula:

> "*Against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and for Democracy.*"

Counter-revolutionaries pretended that the dictatorship of the proletariat was merely the dictatorship of the Bolshevik Party. The Revolution was represented as being nothing but a surprise military victory by the Bolsheviki.

These contentions were the rallying point around which all the so-called democratic elements grouped themselves for the struggle against the dictatorship of the proletariat and against the Soviets. Led by the Mensheviki, all the right-wing politicians flocked together, drawing to them certain sections of the workers and of the State and private salaried employees, as well as sections of the co-operatives and especially of the agricultural co-operatives. These elements combined in an obstinate fight to destroy the proletarian power, using all forms of sabotage to lame and disorganise the economic and political machinery of the Soviets. At the same time, they tried by negotiations to entrap the Bolsheviki into compromises which would discredit them and split their organisation.

Differences within the Bolsheviki.

These efforts so far succeeded as to cause a serious conflict within the Bolshevik Party; Lunatcharsky, Zinoveiv, Rikoff, Ryasanoff, and others, tried to push the Party towards the right. They urged that it was necessary to conciliate the many important organisations which still stood for the old form of democracy, such as the railway and postal workers' unions, a large proportion of the co-operative, the left wing of the Mensheviki under the leadership of Martoff, and the extreme left of the Mensheviki called the Internationalists, whose leader is Wosovski, and who came later on to support the Soviets.

The conflict in the Bolshevik Party was waged around the question whether the Party should escape from the sharp and bitter struggle with these more moderate elements, by according to their organisations power in the management of the State, without giving them any share in the political direction of the Government. It was suggested that Ministries of State service, to control the railways, food distribution and so on, should be created, but without any power to interfere in general politics. And it was thought to neutralise the important organisations not yet supporting the Soviets by bringing them into such Ministries.

Lenin and the more radical section of the Bolshevik Party were against this proposal, but they were willing to have it made possible for these organisations to send their own representatives into the All-Russian Soviet Congress.

The conflict in the Party grew so sharp that Lunatcharsky and Zinoveiv threatened to resign. But finally, Lenin's proposal was accepted. The way was thereby opened to bring the rather backward working class organisations into the Soviets and under the Soviet influence.

After a year of very bitter interior struggles the backward trade unions placed themselves on the platform of All-Power to the Soviets. The co-operatives also at last came round to the same standpoint, being finally induced to do so after prolonged controversies with the Mensheviki and on account of the growing influence of the Bolsheviki.

Co-operatives join the Soviets.

After much discussion in the Communist Party, the co-operatives were entrusted with the work of distributing the products to the Community, and presently most of the Co-operatives came to identify themselves completely with the Soviets. Lenin's policy of conquering the Co-operatives from within, by converting them, and making them useful to the Soviet Government as a powerful instrument of production, proved a triumphant success.

A section of the Menshevik Party also made common cause with the Soviets, a split having taken place in that Party, both on questions of immediate political policy and far-reaching idealogy.

The trade unions played a very important part in economic reconstruction, though they were not yet completely under the influence of the Bolsheviki.

The rank and file workers were united by factory committees, which were elected in the workshops and represented all the workers there.

The Control of Industry.

Before November, 1917, the workers' committees tried to secure the control of the factories. These efforts were intensified after the Second Revolution. This development was not by any means uniform, and the Bolsheviki had a great task to educate the working masses in the principles of Communism, and to bring them from a crude syndicalism to join in the strong co-ordination necessary to secure the products needed by the whole community.

To achieve centralised co-ordination was exceedingly difficult during the first stages

of the Revolution. The military struggle threw many obstacles in the way of communication with the Central Government. The further the Soviet power extended, the more difficult, and at the same time the more necessary, centralised co-ordination grew.

Then came the sabotage by the bankers, the factory owners, and all kinds of capitalists. The employers pretended to be without money and refused to pay their workers. The workers in each factory and workshop were therefore forced to take control of it. The single factory thus became the property of its workers, who began to sell the products they had made.

This period of expropriation of the capitalists and administrators by individual groups of workers was soon terminated with the creation of the superior economic council as the central institution for nationalising, financing and co-ordinating industrial production. This organ of re-construction is of great interest and importance. A product of the Revolution, it is composed of delegates from national trade unions and co-operatives, from the Soviets, from the workers' factory committees and local economic councils, 70 members in all. The superior economic council elects an executive; its president must be a member of the government, the national executive of People's Commissaries. The president is Rikoff. The government cannot apply any economic measure until it has been discussed and approved by the economic council.

Local and district economic committees are built up like the national economic council. Within certain limits the district economic councils have complete autonomy with regard to production, but they are linked up nationally for the general welfare, and decide questions affecting the whole country in common.

Whilst production was at first entirely without a centre, distribution, on the other hand, was over-centralised at the point of production, and the difficulty was to see that the products of a given locality found their way to far-off territories. It is now arranged that a textile factory, for instance, may only distribute a certain quantity of its products within its district, the remainder being sent further afield on a given plan.

It was essential to increase the productivity of the factories and workshops, to close unproductive factories, to combine small ones; to co-ordinate and perfect the plant and technical requirements. A central council was elected for each industry, consisting of representatives of the factory committees, the technical and scientific staffs, the Trade Unions and the District Economic Councils and the Soviets. The metal, sugar, paper, electrical and other industries now have their own economic councils. These central councils provide the raw material needed by the industry, and organise the distribution of its products.

A central organ of commerce has been set up to deal with the supply of products and raw material to the various districts and industries of Russia. The distribution of products is mainly carried on through the co-operatives.

The organising labour of a year and a half has completed the economic skeleton of Russia. It now must be given life and flesh by the efforts of a nation of workers.

The War against Soviet Russia.

But war still rages against Russia. The civil war between the classes is continued, internationalised by the imperialist world-war which the Allied States and the Central Powers are making on Soviet Russia. The Russian Counter-Revolutionaries agreed to the intervention by foreign Powers, on condition that it should not too openly compromise them by revealing the fact that the intervention was not only helping to remount the Russian bourgeoisie in the saddle, but was making the whole economic life of Russia dependent on foreign capitalism.

But these facts could not be hidden; the intervention did much to enlighten the moderate Socialists and democrats to the true position, and to unite them in support of the Soviet Power.

The defeat of Germany also contributed very greatly to this result. Till then the Bolshevik Party had stood in political isolation, for it had not been difficult to deceive large numbers of the working masses and smaller bourgeoisie by the legend that the Bolsheviki were German agents. It was now seen that Lenin's clever tactics in the Brest-Litovsk negotiations had had much to do with the breaking down of the German power.

Collapse of the Menshevik Opposition.

The German Revolution of November, 1919, virtually ended the life of the Menshevik Party. The greater part of the German masses, including all the minor officials and active rank and file organisers of the Party, went over to the Bolshevik camp.

The Versailles Peace brought further success to the Communist Party, for it gave a mortal blow to the illusion that the Governments of the Allies were something other and better than those of the Central Powers. The democratic halo surrounding Allied Imperialism was totally destroyed, and it was clearly seen that the character of Capitalist Imperialism is everywhere the same.

The Allied support of Denikin and Koltchak still further increased the influence of the Bolshevik Party. Even Kerensky has declared that Koltchak in Siberia not only transformed the democrats into Bolsheviki, but, by making anarchy and bloody terror, and by uprooting the teachers and local officials and the more educated peasants, it actually created Bolshevism. Koltchak's campaign caused the destruction of peaceful and productive life in the territories he invaded; it sent the mass of the soldiers flocking over to Bolshevism, and led the people to turn to the Soviets as their only hope. The fact that the Allies were supporting Koltchak helped the Bolshevik Party to explain to the masses the real attitude of the Allied capitalist Governments, the motives of their blockade of Soviet Russia, and their attempts to destroy her economic life and to bring famine to her people.

These lessons have not been lost upon the Russian masses, and the result is that the Bolshevik Party is now so solid and well-supported that no combination of forces in Russia can break down its power.

The Bolshevik Party is supported by three classes of the people:—

Firstly, by the proletariat.

Secondly, by the somewhat richer peasants.

Thirdly, by the middle and poor peasants.

All these parties are now convinced that the fight against Bolshevism is a fight for Czarism and to hand Russia over to the exploitation of the Allied Powers.

The keenest antagonism between the Bolsheviki and the democrats and moderate Socialists centred around the question: "*The Soviet Power or the Constituent Assembly.*"

This antagonism has now so entirely shrivelled up that the great majority of the Mensheviki and Right Social Revolutionaries have renounced the battle cry: "*Convoke the Constituent Assembly!*"

The Menshevik Party soon split into three factions, with widely differing objects; but, because the unity of their Party was more important to their idealogic identity, they long held together, even though the right wing adopted Social Patriotic objects. But as things developed, the right wing, which was led by Plekhanoff, Portresoff, Gritchefski and Alexinsky, melted away till it entirely disappeared. Some of the prominent leaders, like Lieber, went over to the Black Hundreds, and by so doing isolated themselves completely and were lost to public notice. Some of them seized the governing power in Omsk and Samara, but after a short time, they were politically extinguished.

The Menshevik central faction, led by Dan, Paul Axelrod and Martoff, split into various factions. Martoff and Dan moved to the left, whilst Axelrod was left in an isolated position. Dan and Martoff declared that the Menshevik opposition to the Bolshevik Government in power must take part in the Soviets, but must refuse to occupy any official positions. Another faction of the Menshevik Centre Party, led by Igovieff, did not wish the Mensheviki to restrict their activities in this way, and desired that, beside maintaining opposition to the Government, Mensheviki should accept responsible posts under the Soviets.

This view was expressed by the *Novaya Zisn*, the paper of Maxim Gorky and Suchanoff.

The left wing of the Menshevik Party altogether dissolved, the vast majority of its members joining the Communist Party.

The Social Revolutionaries.

The Moderate, or Right, Social Revolutionary Party has also undergone great changes, and has finally broken up into three factions. The right faction, under Kerensky, Catharine Breshkovsky and Savinkoff has remained irreconcilable. For a long period it even backed the foreign intervention; but this question at last caused a split. Savinkoff, an old Terrorist and organiser of peasant rebellion, stands obstinately against the Soviet Power, and has given his adherence to Koltchak.

The Social Revolutionary centre faction, which set up a Government in Omsk and Samara, allied itself with Koltchak on the basis of the Constituent Assembly. This faction is now in a state of utter confusion. One part of it has detached itself from Koltchak and still demands the Constituent Assembly. Another part has joined the left wing Social Revolutionaries under Tchernoff, and renouncing the demand for the Constituent Assembly, now favours a coalition with the Soviet Government.

The left wing of the Social Revolutionary Party decided from the beginning to collaborate with the Soviets; but this left wing no longer exists as a party. One section of it tried to capture the power of government after the assassination of the German Ambassador, Mirbach, which it had organised. It took up an attitude of violent opposition to the Bolshevik Government on account of the Brest-Litovsk Peace, and concentrated on anti-Germany propaganda; but its life ended with the November Revolution in Germany. Spiridonova was a member of this group. She had gone through great ordeals and tortures under the Czardom, she is now deaf and suffers from nervous strain; after the conspiracy to overthrow the Soviet Government the Revolutionary Tribunal sent her to a sanitorium for a year.

The other section of the left wing Social Revolutionaries threw in its lot with the Soviet Government.

Lenin and the Success of the Bolshevik Party.

The political ideals and tactics of the Bolshevik Party have achieved a tremendous success; a success which was only possible because those ideals and tactics finally won the confidence of the majority of those who have been members of the other political parties. The Bolsheviki were able to win this confidence because they

formed a strong and coherent party, with clearly defined, tenaciously held purposes and principles, added to the tradition and training of twenty years of revolutionary struggle.

The personality of Lenin has been of immeasurable importance to the Bolshevik Party, but without such a party he could never have realised his ideals. On the other hand, without Lenin the Party could not so rapidly have developed in regard to principles and to tactics as the logical consequence of principles.

Lenin's power lies in the strength of the Bolshevik Party. It is absurd to say that he exercises a dictatorship; indeed, he is often in a minority on the Executive. He frequently has to face fierce contests with the membership, because the members sometimes fail at first to respond to the elasticity of his tactics, and because they have not his clear conception of the international and historic situation, and as to how their tactics should be adapted to it. Lenin has always had a remarkable capacity for valuing the relative strengths of the various forces and classes. He has always been able to look beyond his own immediate surroundings, and beyond the frontiers of Russia, when other members of the Party could only see the Bolshevik Party and Russia.

A characteristic incident took place at a great meeting of the Party, where Lenin proposed to modify the tactics employed towards the Mensheviki in accordance with the change appearing in the manifestoes issued by the Mensheviki on the world situation. Lenin saw in those manifestoes an expression of the Menshevik Party's longing to abandon its isolation. He proposed that the Bolsheviki should construct a bridge by which the Mensheviki might join them, by treating them as critics of the Soviet Government, not as enemies of the Soviet Power. Lenin had a great struggle to gain his point, but he succeeded. Lenin's position has been strengthened by his consistent determination that the inevitable compromises and concessions made in organising in the economic life of the Soviets should neither be too great, nor arrived at under the influence of the passing emotions of the day. At one time, influenced by the great pressure of famine, and believing that the peasants would sell more of their produce if free trading for private gain were re-established, Larin and Karmeniev proposed that the socialisation of commerce should be abandoned. Only a narrow majority of five or six votes maintained the balance in favour of socialisation. Lenin had thrown his weight on the side of socialisation, but had proposed to make some minor exceptions, which would ease the situation, without affecting the principle of socialising commerce.

The Communist Party has so overwhelmingly important a share in the development of Soviet Russia, and is so widely supported, that for the sheer strength of influence and its prominence in the life of the nation, no political party in Western Europe has ever equalled it. The strength of the Government it has formed is unprecedented.

In every political and economic organisation of the Soviet State, in every working class association, in the Soviets and economic councils, in the trade unions, the workshop and the Army and Navy, committees in the co-operatives, the school committees, and so on, the Communist Party has its representatives, who act together as a united Communist group, in touch with the Party as a whole. In the solidarity and consistency of the Communist groups lies their strength. The task of the Communist groups is, firstly, to assist the growth and application of Communist ideals; secondly, to guide and stimulate the work in the factories, in the People's Commissariats for commerce, industry, and so on, and in all other departments of communal life. The influence of the Communist groups is most fertile, and whoever is at the head of an organisation finds it essential to keep in close touch with the Communist Party. Occasionally conflicts have arisen between the Communist Party and the manager of a factory, or president of some Soviet Institution. Such difficulties, however, are as a rule soon overcome. The Communists, whilst exercising a strong controlling influence and close surveillance to prevent sabotage, which was at one time common, use every effort to do this tactfully and to avoid unnecessary conflict. Everywhere the Communists are the advance guard of social reconstruction, and form a powerful factor in securing increased productivity.

Some time ago the need for a more rapid production was so great, that it was advisable to work on Saturday afternoons. Such a proposal would not have appeared congenial to the general mass of the workers. The Communists therefore volunteered to work on Saturday afternoons without pay, and they worked with so much energy that they produced more in one Saturday afternoon than had been produced by an equal number of workers in three days. This act of social solidarity was a great example to the non-Bolshevik workers. The initiative to the Saturday afternoon work sprang entirely from the rank and file. Lenin, in one of his latest pamphlets, called this action "The Great Initiative." This is one of many instances which have shown how easily, and with what pleasure, labour overcomes difficulties when it is freed from capitalism. The Communist Party is determined that the mechanism of the Soviet State shall not be used to provide sinecure posts for its members, but that every member of the community shall fill the post to which he or she is suited. As a matter of fact, whenever the military situation has become dangerous, the Communist Party has sent further drafts of its best members to the front. It is not so much due to the merit of the generals, as to the Communist Party and its propaganda, that the Red Army is now on the highest level of military efficiency. Ninety per cent. of the soldiers in the Red Army are members of the Communist Party. At the last mobilisation, 70 out of every 100 members of the Party went to the front. On account of this heavy mobilisation of Communists it is impossible now to give exact figures as to the membership of the Communist Party, but already, before November, 1918, the Party had more than 400,000 members, and since that time the numbers have grown at least ten-fold.

In pursuance of the task of enlightening the people, the Party holds meetings, demonstrations and lectures in every town and village. The work of the Party is indeed titanic, and it is a tremendous power for world revolution.

Soviet Russia and World Revolution.

The Brest-Litovsk Peace at first met with very strong opposition from within the ranks of the Communist Party. The left wing, with Bucharin, Lonroff, Uritsky, Oppolensky, Radek and Bronsky, were against the Peace. Lenin and Zinoviev were in favour of it. Trotsky, occupying a central position, and trying to combine both, abstained from voting. Lenin's strong argument in favour of peace was that even the bare existence of a Soviet Russia was of tremendous importance for world revolution, and that everything possible must be done to maintain its existence, even at the cost of economic bankruptcy. He insisted that the coming of world revolution would repay, with high interest, all that Soviet Russia had endured.

The international policy of Lenin and of the Soviet Government itself is guided by a realisation of the inter-dependence of Soviet Russia and world revolution. This explains the disposition to make economic and financial concessions, in order to gain peace, not so much to gain a short breathing space for Soviet Russia, as in order to gain time for the world revolution to develop.

In contrast to Soviet Hungary, Soviet Russia has never believed that the revolution in Western Europe can be accelerated by piece-meal and transitory conquests of political power. The Communist policy is not to bolster up the Soviet Power by fugitive successes. When Lenin is asked for advice by comrades abroad, he says emphatically:—

"Do not seize the political power too early; give time for the other political parties to show in practice the failure of their policies. Increase and fortify the consciousness of the working masses. Do your best to unite them, to organise them, and to fill them with Communist idealogy."

The counter-revolution in Russia has been fortified by the aid of the bourgeois democracies of Western Europe, and by the German Social Democrats. It is the duty of the Communist Party in every country to realise that to prepare for revolution in its own country is the best means of protecting Soviet Russia. It is the duty of Communists in all countries to fight for Soviet Russia, not as an isolated question, but by showing the masses the connection between the capitalist reaction in their own country, and the struggle against Soviet Russia. The Communists must fight for Soviet Russia by calling upon the masses to engage in the revolutionary struggle for Communism, on account of the national, and international situation. The starting point of the fight for Soviet Russia by the Communists of Western Europe must be the struggle against their own existing Governments and ruling classes.

Communists must not mislead the workers by using, in their fight against the intervention, the arguments of the Social patriots, such as that peace must be made with Russia, in order that Allied capitalism and not the capitalism of Germany may make arrangements to exploit her.

The Communists of Western Europe and the United States must base their own internal struggle, and the fight for Soviet Russia, on the world contest of the workers and the bourgeoisie.

The more bitter grows the national struggle of the workers against capitalism, the more efficient will be the aid given to Soviet Russia, and the more the capitalists will be impeded in the struggle against her.

It has been the mission of the Russian Soviet Government to demonstrate to the working masses the close connection between national and international politics. The more sharply the Government of any country fights against Soviet Russia, the more necessary it is that the workers of that country should employ the sharpest measures to force the Government to abandon the struggle.

This is the more necessary because the cruelty of the means that any foreign Government employs against Soviet Russia, is the gauge of the means which it will employ, when it thinks necessary, to suppress the working people of its own country.

It is difficult to lay down here the precise measures which the Communist Party and the working class of any country shall use at this moment to advance the international Communist revolution, and to aid Soviet Russia. All means must be employed, from processions and demonstrations of sympathy, to the general strikes of transport workers, munition makers, and all workers.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE,

The historic role of the Soviet Government is indeed a great one; it is to show that only through the Soviets can an international Socialist policy be realised: and to lead the world revolution of the workers.

A second Russian representative announced that information had just been received, which seemed to indicate that Soviet Russia had passed through its greatest economic and military difficulties.

Denikin's army had been repelled in the neighbourhood of Kursk, and there was high enthusiasm amongst the people.

Communist Week 100,000 New Members.

A month before, a Communist week had been appointed for special propaganda on behalf of the Party, and in a few days 100,000 new members had joined the Party. These new members were largely drawn from the villages and country districts though many came also from the towns.

The situation still remained difficult. The Soviets were still separated from the Donetz coalfield, a cause of much hardship in the awful Russian winter. Forests had been devastated to supply the great need for fuel. The continued mobilisation for the front demanded many sacrifices. Nevertheless, the Russian workers were full of courage, and they were looking hopefully for action by the workers of the Western States.

It seemed possible that the Allied Powers were disposed to come to a peace with Soviet Russia, but the less truculent tone of their present utterances may only be a manœuvre in their diplomatic game.

The situation calls for action by Communists of the Western nations, and especially of the Allied countries. The Communists must realise that resolutions of sympathy are useless; they must exercise a positive pressure on their Governments and impede the Governments and the White Guards by any open or secret method possible. The Russian Counter-Revolution breaks down whenever and wherever the assistance of International Imperialism is withdrawn.

POLAND

From Poland it was reported that during the war the situation was dominated by the fact that the German and Austrian Governments had used Poland as a means of fighting Russia by coquetting with the Polish ideals of National Independence. The situation changed when the Central Empires were defeated in the War.

The Polish bourgeoisie had not been united in its politics: its attitude had been divided, according to the territorial partition of Poland by its Russian, German and Austrian conquerors. In Russian Poland the Polish bourgeoisie had supported Russia's war. In Galicia and the Polish provinces of Prussia on the other hand, the Polish bourgeoisie supported Austria and Germany. They felt themselves dependent on the Central Empires, and at the same time believed that their attitude would assist their efforts towards national independence. Apparently their attitude was that of John Redmond in Ireland.

When the War broke out the opportunist Polish Socialist Party was the strongest party. In Austrian Poland the party's influence with the Polish Nationalist legions was thrown on the side of the policy which sent those legions to fight on the side of Austria under the battle-cry: "Against Czarism and for Polish Independence."

From the outbreak of the Russian Revolution to the final defeat of the Central Empires, the allegiance of the Polish Socialist Party, and the Polish Socialist legions to the Central Empires grew less and less: they did not wish to remain on the side of the vanquished Powers, for they now believed that greater advantages could be secured by joining with the victorious Allies. The Socialist Party was anxious that it should appear in opposition to the German Government in order that it might gain the reputation of standing for Polish National Independence. But as a matter of fact its opposition was not a genuine opposition of principle, for it was only assumed because of the defeat of the Central Powers.

The leaders of the Socialist Party were able to present an appearance of independence sufficient to enable them to preserve their influence with the Polish legions and with the country as a whole. The bourgeois politicians, on the other hand, had been compromised by their adherence either to the Central Empires or to Russia; they had almost entirely lost their influence.

Now the Polish legions gave the power to the Socialist Party, which came into possession of the governing power without having won it.

The Socialist Party was dominated by "Social Patriotism." The central idea in its policy was national independence. It contended that as Poland is dependent on its industrial workers, the first duty of these workers was not to struggle for the emancipation of the working class, but to maintain the national independence.

The policy of Social Patriotism leads finally to Imperialism, and the desire of the Polish Socialist Party was to extend their fatherland as far as possible; this aim could only be accomplished by the help of the bourgeoisie. Moreover, it was only with the help of the bourgeoisie that the Polish Socialist Party could maintain itself in power at all, because it had come into power as a political accident through the bankruptcy of its German overlords.

It is characteristic of the social patriotic Polish Socialist Party that it joined in the struggle against Soviet Russia. After the defeat of Germany, the Soviet Red Army went to the aid of the Baltic revolutionaries, who were then fighting to deliver the Baltic provinces, Lettland, Esthonia and Lithuania, and to enable the workers and peasants there to join with Soviet Russia.

But this union between the workers of Soviet Russia and the Baltic provinces conflicted with the dream of possessing the Baltic provinces and the Ukraine, which had long been cherished by the old Polish patriots and Social patriots. In furtherance of this, their own old dream of conquest, the Polish rulers now went eagerly to war against Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile, a revolutionary proletarian movement began to spread rapidly over Poland. The so-called Socialist Government met the workers' movement with the same brutal methods of civil war, to which the Scheidemann and Noske Government descended in Germany. Processions and demonstrations of Polish workers were broken up by gun fire, and prominent members of the working class movement were assassinated almost every day. The "Socialist" Government employed the old police force of the Czardom on the frontiers and within the country. All agitation and propaganda was met with opposition and bloodshed. The prisons were crowded. Even the members of a Red Cross deputation from Russia, three women and two men, were murdered.

And yet, in spite of all this, the "Socialist" Government had to contend with sabotage by the bourgeoisie, which refused to pay taxes, and harassed the Government in every way. The banks withheld money from the Government. Government loans were not taken up. Finally, this Government of Social patriots took refuge in resignation, and handed the power to President Pilsudski, the leader of the Polish legions.

Thus the Social Patriotic Government, which had not the courage to maintain itself, allowed the bourgeoisie to take over the power without a struggle.

The elections for the national assembly had not yet been held. When they took place the bourgeois parties secured a strong majority, and the Polish Socialist Party, which had lost the support of the masses, secured only a small number of seats.

A Communist Party was formed in Poland in January, 1918. It sprang mainly from the old Social Democratic Party of Poland, the leaders of which had been Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Yogehes. Some time before the outbreak of war this party had split, but during the War the breach was healed, and the two wings had rejoined. A left wing had also developed in the Polish Socialist Party, and this wing united with the Polish Social Democratic Party to form the Communist Party.

The new party, which worked in close relationship with Russian Bolshevism, at once engaged in the struggle with Social Patriotism. *It took no part in the elections for the the National Assembly.* The Party's influence with the workers grew rapidly, and especially with those who had returned from the War in Germany and Russia, and could find no work to do. Masses of Polish workers had been transplanted during the War to work in Germany, and in Russia. They were now returning, but there was no work for them in Poland, and they were flocking to the revolutionary Party. Though they had been members of the tame Polish Socialist Party before they left Poland, large numbers of them had joined the Bolsheviki during their stay in Russia, and had there entirely rid themselves of their "Socialistic" tendencies. Many had taken an active part in the Russian Revolution and some had even held leading positions in the industrial, economic and political committees of the Soviet Republic.

The bourgeois "democracy" to which the Social *Patriotic* Government had resigned the Polish people, soon proved itself to be a bourgeois dictatorship. Even the very tame and patriotic Social Democratic Party was forced to take up a sharper opposition to it, in order to win any measure of support at all from the discontented workers. But the "loyal" and respectful opposition of the Social Democratic Party to the Bourgeois Government was not strong enough to secure the support of the workers, especially in view of the Social Democratic Party's many past faults, and its veritable crimes against the workers.

The present economic and political situation of Poland is dominated by the fact that the Allied Powers have created an independent Polish State simply to serve their own end; they demand that it shall act as a wall to prevent the spread of Bolshevism into Europe, and shall be a policeman over Germany.

Discussions were being carried on in Berlin between the German and Polish Governments with the object of regulating the new frontiers of Poland and the territories which Germany must cede. Both countries were satisfied that the arrangements they were making were as good as possible under the circumstances. But the harmony of these Berlin negotiations was not pleasing to the Allied Powers. Therefore they forced the Polish-German Commission to leave Berlin at 24 hours notice, and to remove to Paris, where its discussions could be carried on under the supervision of the Allies.

The economic situation of Poland is desperate. It lacks raw materials and is terribly short of coal. The greater part of its factories in Lodz and other great industrial centres were closed already during the War. Both the Russians and the Germans removed and destroyed much of the machinery.

(To be continued next week.)